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deceived into thinking this is socialism. Familiar as these views are to those conversant with the subject, they are often overlooked. Certain people are much alarmed at the alleged drift toward socialism revealed in state social reform policies. Others, rightly distressed by the evils of the present industrial order, sympathizing with state action for their alleviation, and misled by certain socialist writers into believing that such progressive measures are socialism, align themselves with that party. Both these groups, widely apart as they are, should note the fact clearly brought out by this study that socialism is a movement which believes that capitalism large and small should be annihilated by a class struggle. It is unfortunate that such an important book should be written in a style so involved, obscure, and tedious that it is in danger of not being read as widely as it should be.

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Syndicalism and Labour. By SIR ARTHUR CLAY. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1911. Pp. xv, 230. \$2.25.)

The Labor Movement in France. A Study in Revolutionary Syndicalism. By LOUIS LEVINE. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. XLVI, No. 3. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1912. Pp. 212. \$1.50.)

La Question Agraire et le Socialisme en France. By COMPERE-MOREL. (Paris: Marcel Rivière. 1912. Pp. 455. 8 fr.)

The Anarchists: their Faith and their Record. By ERNEST A. VIZETELLY. (New York: John Lane Company. 1911. Pp. xii, 308. \$3.50.)

The Record of an Adventurous Life. By HENRY MAYERS HYNDMAN. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. Pp. xi, 422. \$1.75.)

There was need of a work covering the ground which Sir Arthur Clay here stakes out, the recent outburst of syndicalist activity in Europe, but the lack still remains. In the first part of his book the author passes in review the syndicalist strikes in France, Sweden, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom. The arrangement is clear, and the details given of these scattered movements are useful as an introduction to the subject. But the usefulness is narrowly limited by the author's lack of an economic background,

his reliance throughout on second and third-hand sources such as M. Mermeix's *Le Syndicalisme contre le Socialisme* and the "London Times," and the naïve attitude, sufficiently indicated by the statement, given as an axiomatic and crushing criticism of syndicalism, that "its doctrine is directly antagonistic to the elementary principle which is the corner-stone of social morality, respect for the right of personal property." The later chapters, consisting of discursive notes on the tendencies of English trade-unionism, have some value because of the copious quotations, but on the whole the book is more valuable as an unconscious revelation of the social creed of a barrister of the Middle Temple, J. P. of Surrey and landowner of Banffshire than as an account of syndicalism.

Dr. Levine's monograph (a Columbia doctoral thesis), while limited to the consideration of the French movement, is easily the most comprehensive and illuminating study of revolutionary syndicalism that has appeared in English. A thorough familiarity with the sources, systematic arrangement, a clear style, and an impartial but not unsympathetic attitude assure the reader of a good grasp of the principles and practices of the movement which has restored to France its old-time primacy in social radicalism. The historical chapters trace the development both of the doctrine of syndicalism and of the organ through which it has found expression, the General Confederation of Labor. They are followed by a well-balanced analysis of the creed and tactics of today. The relative influence of working-class practice and of the theory of the "intellectuals" is discriminately estimated; in discussing the claim that the syndicalist movement represents a return to Marx, Dr. Levine points out three essential features of Marxian thought which are quite foreign to the thinking of Sorel and the neo-Marxists—the determinism of Marx, his intellectualism, and his emphasis on the technical factors in social evolution. The chief criticism to be passed on the book is that the author has not seen fit to provide, except in some incidental references, a basis and background for the discussion of the attitude of the labor unions to the new movement by giving a survey of the strength and character of the French labor organizations in the different industries and of the economic and racial factors which have shaped their growth. But, as it is, the study is an admirable piece of work.

Complementary is the study of the French rural situation by Compère-Morel, easily the leading theorist and practical propagandist in the French socialist party's "peasant-fishing" campaign. It is curious to see state socialism, rejected by the town worker in favor of syndicalism, finding new fields in the country. In the first of the three sections, M. Compère-Morel pictures the peasant world of France, endeavoring to prove that concentration is proceeding rapidly, and that the farm laborer, day or domestic, the cash or share renter, subjected to new *corvées*, and the small owner, burdened by debt and exploited by the middleman, are ripe for socialism. The analysis, which agrees with that of Kautsky and Vandervelde rather than that of David, Herz, and Bernstein in the contention that the small farmer cannot possibly compete against the large, is valuable for its first-hand freshness of detail; but it is a partisan brief and requires to be supplemented by some such presentation of the other side as that in the Department of Agriculture's recent publication, *La Petite Propriété Rurale en France*. The second section forecasts in eloquent if not altogether novel terms the organization of agriculture under socialism, asserting that the small owner employing no outside labor will be allowed not only to keep but to bequeath his farm, till such time as the superior attractiveness of the large communal working has drawn him voluntarily into its ranks. It is, however, open to question whether coöperation, which Compère-Morel looks to as a transition stage, would really change the peasant's individualistic mentality as completely as he expects. And, if one may be pardoned for reminding a socialist of an inconvenient aspect of class conflict, given the farming class buttressed by tax reductions, fair rent commissions, communal machinery and coöperative marketing, and—alike in France and the United States—demanding protection on foodstuffs, how unite them harmoniously in one party with town workers, especially if the reforms directed against the middleman lessen incidentally his lightning-rod or buffer-state serviceability?

Perhaps most valuable is the third section, in which the author takes up in turn each of the eighty-seven departments of France, and notes briefly the character of soil, the prevailing pursuit, the size and tenure of the farms, the extent of coöperative effort, the wage of laborers, and other significant details. It is to be hoped that from socialist or other sources, a similar service will shortly be performed for America.

Mr. Vizetelly, best known as the translator of Zola, gives here a popular descriptive account of anarchist activities since Bakunin's day. The attempts on the life of the Kaiser, the Ravachol terror, the Barcelona outrages, the Haymarket affair, and the assassination of Elizabeth of Austria and Humbert of Italy are narrated in detail. The work makes no attempt to discuss anarchist theory, but is a convenient compilation of facts as to the propaganda by deed.

Mr. Hyndman's graphic autobiography will interest the general reader through its pictures of Meredith, Disraeli, Clemenceau, and Randolph Churchill, or its many lively anecdotes, and the student of socialism through its chapters on Marx, Mazzini, Morris, Liebknecht, Jaurès, and especially on the fortunes of the party which Mr. Hyndman did so much to form and keep alive. We are given a picture of the early days of *Justice*, "Morris in his soft hat and blue suit, Champion, Frost and Joynes in the morning garments of the well-to-do, several working-men comrades, and I myself wearing the new frock-coat, in which Shaw said I was born, with a tall hat and good gloves, all earnestly engaged in selling a penny socialist paper during the busiest time of the day in London's busiest thoroughfare." The tall hat and frock coat are never far absent, and perhaps account somewhat for the fact that the sacrifices made by this wealthy Cambridge graduate in the interest of the cause were neither fully appreciated nor fully successful, as the embittered tone of many passages reflects. Yet there is much truth in the point made later in the book:

The greater part of the really arduous work of socialism in every country . . . has been done not by the artisans and laborers themselves, but by the highly educated men of the class above. . . . Joffrin, Bracke, Debs, Anseele, Quelch, Williams, and the veteran August Bebel have been quite the exceptions, and even they, all put together, have not developed the originality that might be expected from a rising class. A slave class cannot be freed by the slaves themselves. The leadership, the initiative, the teaching, the organization, must come from those who are born into a different position, and are trained to use their faculties in early life. So far, several of the more energetic of the working class, when they have obtained their education from the well-to-do socialists who have been sacrificing themselves for their sake, have hastened to sell out to the dominant minority, and most of the workers, in Great Britain at any rate, have applauded their sagacity, and have voted for the successful turncoats at the polls.

Mr. Hyndman's intimate story is indispensable to an understanding of British socialism of the last generation.

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Coöperation among Farmers. By JOHN LEE COULTER. The Young Farmer's Practical Library. (New York: Sturgis and Walton Company. 1911. Pp. vii, 281. 75 cents.)

As is clearly implied in the title, this excellent little book is not a treatise on coöperative farming, but on coöperation among farmers. There is practically no coöperative farming in the United States, but there has been some hopeful development of coöperation among farmers in the marketing and distribution of their products. Coöperation in this field is one of the various phases of the as yet unsolved problem of getting the products of the farm to the consumers in the cities with the least possible waste. The problem of production on the farm has received the attention of the best agricultural talent of the country, and for that reason has been solved in a practical way. Because our best agricultural talent has been concerned with the problem of farm production, the equally important problem of marketing and distribution has been largely neglected. The book before us is a timely and valuable contribution to the solution of this problem. It applies particularly to what is called "better business" in the formula which has become current within recent years—"Better farming, better business, better living."

The book opens with an argument for coöperation. This is followed by chapters on coöperation in various lines of agricultural enterprise, such as Dairy Farming, the Marketing of Butter and Cheese, Marketing of Meat Animals, Storing and Marketing of Grain, Vegetables, etc.; and a very interesting and informing account of successful coöperative enterprises in various parts of this country. There is also a chapter on Coöoperative Stores, though unfortunately the author must get his best material bearing upon this subject from abroad. There is little experience in this country to encourage farmers in trying to save the middlemen's profits in the handling of goods produced by other enterprises for sale to farmers. This doubtless speaks more favorably for the success of manufacturers in the marketing and distribution of their products than for that of the farmers in selling their own